

Message Text

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SUBJECT: THE SOCIALISTS APPROVE A PLATFORM FOR THEIR CONGRESS

REF: ROME 14532

SUMMARY: THE SOCIALIST (PSI) CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS APPROVED A PLATFORM FOR THE PARTY'S CONGRESS WHICH WILL BE HELD FEBRUARY 1-8. THE CENTER-LEFT FORMULA WILL FORMALLY BE PRONOUNCED DEAD, AND A PSI RETURN TO GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS IS VIRTUALLY EXCLUDED. THE PSI REJECTS BOTH HISTORIC COMPROMISE AND AN ALLIANCE WITH THE COMMUNISTS (PCI). A DOOR IS LEFT OPEN TO A RETURN TO A COALITION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AFTER THE NEXT ELECTIONS. THE PCI IS PRAISED FOR ITS DOMESTIC DEMOCRATIC REVISIONISM, BUT SEVERELY CRITICIZED FOR IT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE VALIDITY OF THE SOVIET BRAND OF SOCIALISM THROUGH IT'S CONTINUED SOLIDARITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, COLLABORATION ON SPECIFIC ISSUES IS NOT EXCLUDED, AND PCI SUPPORT REMAINS A CONDITION FOR PSI PARTICIPATION IN A NEW GOVERNMENT. TO OPEN THE ROAD TO THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE WHICH IS THE PSI'S LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE, THE PSI MUST INCREASE ITS STRENGTH IN THE NEXT ELECTIONS. UNTIL THEN, THE PSI WILL KEEP ITS OPTIONS OPEN, AND MARK TIME. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE SOCIALIST (PSI) CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS UNANIMOUSLY

APPROVED SECRETARY DE MARTINO'S DRAFT PLATFORM FOR THE PSI CONGRESS WHICH WILL BE HELD FEBRUARY 1-8. HIGHLIGHTS ARE:

2. GOVERNMENT: PRIOR TO NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS, DE MARTINO CANNOT FORESEE THE PSI'S RETURN TO GOVERNMENT. THE PSI REMAINS OPPOSED TO EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS. PRESENT TENUOUS SUPPORT FOR MORO GOVERNMENT WILL BE REVIEWED FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF ANTI-RECESSION LEGISLATION. RESULTS OF GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH UNIONS WILL HAVE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE. PSI WILL HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER IT RENEWS ITS SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT ON BASIS OF PRECISE ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT, OR "RESUMES ITS FREEDOM OF ACTION." (COMMENT: BY IMPLICATION, DE MARTINO LEAVES OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT PSI MIGHT FAVOR REPLACEMENT OF MORO GOVERNMENT WITH ANOTHER INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO GET BY UNTIL THE 1977 ELECTIONS. THERE IS MINORITY (MANCINI) SENTIMENT WITHIN HIS PARTY FOR THIS ALTERNATIVE.)

3. CENTER-LEFT: A RETURN TO THE CENTER-LEFT FORMULA IS CATEGORICALLY EXCLUDED. "AN EPOCH HAS ENDED, AND A NEW ONE HAS BEGUN." THE CONGRESS WILL SOLEMNIZE THE PRONOUNCEMENT. THE CENTER-LEFT WAS NOT A FAILURE IF ONE CONSIDERS SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS, SUCH AS THE INCREASE IN POWER OF THE WORKERS AND THE REVISIONISM OF THE PCI, BUT IT DID NOT ATTAIN ITS OBJECTIVE OF ORGANIC REFORMS. THE DC IS TO BLAME.

4. RELATIONS WITH DC: IT IS ABSURD TO ASK THE PSI TO TAKE DECISIONS UNTIL THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (DC) CLARIFY THEIR INTERNAL AMBIGUITIES. THE SOCIALISTS "REJECT THE EXISTENCE OF CATHOLICS AS A POLITICAL CATEGORY." DE MARTINO DOES NOT EXCLUDE FUTURE COLLABORATION WITH THE DC IN GOVERNMENT IN THE INTERMEDIARY STAGES TOWARD THE SOCIALIST LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY, IF THE TERMS DO NOT CONFLICT WITH THE LONG-TERM GOAL. (COMMENT: DEMARTINO CLEARLY IMPLIES POSSIBILITY OF A SOCIALIST RETURN TO A COALITION WITH THE DC -- THE PREFERENTIAL RELATIONSHIP -- IF THE RESULTS OF THE NEXT ELECTIONS COUNSEL SUCH A COURSE. HOWEVER, HE REPEATS THE CONDITION THAT THE PCI NOT BE PREJUDICIALLY EXCLUDED FROM "RESPONSIBILITY IN A MAJORITY".)

5. THE PCI: DEMARTINO PRAISES THE PCI'S REVISIONISM WHICH HAS LED IT TO ACCEPT DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF SOCIALISM AND, "FOR ITALY, OF THE INSEPARABILITY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES." HOWEVER, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PCI'S DOMESTIC REVISIONISM, AND ITS SIMULTANEOUS ACCEPTANCE OF THE VALIDITY OF AUTHORITARIAN FORMS OF SOCIALISM IN EAST EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE REMAINS. "THE PCI HAS CONTINUED ITS SOLIDARITY WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES, HAS CONTINUED TO CONSIDER ITSELF A PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, AND REAFFIRMED THIS SOLIDARITY IN A VERY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL WAY SINCE JUNE 15 (MOST PROBABLY AN ALLUSION TO THE PCI'S ROLE IN ORGANIZING THE

CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES)." FOR THE PSI, "THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN ITALY, AS IN ALL OF WESTERN EUROPE, PASSES THROUGH A RESOLUTION OF THIS CONTRADICTION." PCI FORMULAS OF THE "NATIONAL WAYS" AND "UNITY IN DIVERSITY" HAVE A MACHIAVELLIAN CHARACTER AND DO NOT RESOLVE IT. UNTIL IT IS RESOLVED, THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE PSI AND PCI CANNOT BE OVERCOME. THIS SAID, DEMARTINO ADDED THAT THIS DIVISION "DOES NOT PRECLUDE POTENTIAL PSI AGREEMENTS AND COMPROMISES WITH THE PCI ON CURRENT PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT OR A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY."

6. HISTORIC COMPROMISE: THE PSI'S BASIC OBJECTION TO THIS STRATEGY IS THE "HISTORIC LIGHT" WITH WHICH IT IS INVESTED, "AS THOUGH IT WERE DESTINED TO LAST A LONG TIME". THIS ASSIGNS TO THE DC IN A STATIC MANNER THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF CATHOLICS, AND OBSCURES PROSPECTS FOR AN ADVANCE TOWARD SOCIALISM. DEMARTINO MENTIONS AS A MINOR ADJUNCT THE OBJECTION THAT THE COMPROMISE WOULD PUT THE PSI AND ALL OTHER PARTIES INTO A POSITION OF INFERIORITY. (COMMENT: THE LATTER REMAINS THE PRINCIPAL POLITICAL PSI OBJECTION TO IT.)

7. THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE LEFT: THIS ALTERNATIVE IS PRESENTLY UNREALISTIC. GIVEN THE POWER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PSI AND PCI, SUCH AN ALTERNATIVE WOULD INEVITABLY BE UNDER PCI HEGEMONY. GIVEN THE PCI'S UNRESOLVED CONTRADICTION (PARA. 5 ABOVE), IT WOULD HAVE (DISASTROUS) INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONSEQUENCES. NEVERTHELESS, DEMARTINO, IN ANOTHER PASSAGE, GINGERLY CONFRONTS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE FORCES OF THE LEFT EMERGE FROM THE NEXT ELECTIONS WITH A THIN MAJORITY OF THE VOTE. HE DOES NOT SUGGEST WHAT THE PSI SHOULD DO, BUT RAISES FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION THE SAME OBJECTIONS BERLINGUER MADE WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY AGAINST THE ATTEMPT TO GOVERN WITH 51 PERCENT.

8. LONG-TERM STRATEGY OF THE PSI: THOUGH NO SOCIALIST ALTERNA-
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TIVE CAN IMMEDIATELY BE REALIZED, THE LONG-TERM STRATEGY OF THE PSI WILL BE "THE GRADUAL AND PROFOUND TRANSFORMATION OF THE ITALIAN SYSTEM INTO SOCIALISM . . . THROUGH THE CONTINUOUS CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, (AND) THE EXALTATION OF LIBERTY . . ." "AT THE HEAD OF PROGRAM AND PRACTICE IS . . . POPULAR CONSENT, AND, IF THIS IS INTERRUPTED, THE PARTY IS WILLING TO LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT, EVEN TO CONSERVATIVE FORCES, IF THE POPULAR WILL SO MANIFESTS ITSELF." DEMARTINO GAVE RINGING EXPRESSION TO THE PSI'S DETERMINATION TO BE "THE GUARANTOR OF WESTERN POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND CIVIL VALUES".

9. THE IMMEDIATE TASK: GIVEN THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE PSI, DC AND PCI, THE IMMEDIATE TASK IS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR MOVEMENT TOWARD SOCIALISM BY INCREASING THE PSI'S STRENGTH AND INFLUENCE. DEMARTINO INDICATED THAT THE PSI HOPES TO WIN

VOTES FROM THE DC'S LEFT, AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN THE SOUTH,
THE LARGE NON-INDUSTRIAL NON-PROFESSIONAL WORKERS (IN TERTIARY
INDUSTRIES), AND FROM THE MIDDLE CLASS.

10. COMMENT: AS THE PSI DID IN ANTICIPATION OF THE REGIONAL
ELECTIONS, IT IS NOW PUTTING ALL ITS HOPE IN A LARGE ELECTORAL
INCREASE IN THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS. MEANWHILE IT WILL
MAINTAIN A TIME-MARKING STANCE WHICH LEAVES THE DOOR OPEN TO EACH
OF THE UNDESIRABLE ALTERNATIVES NOW BEFORE IT. THE ELECTORAL
RETURNS WILL MAKE ITS DECISION FOR IT, AS THEY DID FOR LOCAL
GOVERNMENT ON JUNE 15. THE ONE DIFFERENCE IS THAT THIS TIME THE
PSI'S POINT OF DEPARTURE WILL BE FURTHER LEFT.VOLPE

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